

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 131790
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:TNILES
APPROVED BY IO:GBHELMAN
AF:RMOOSE
INR:WBOWDLER
AF/S:DPETTERSON
S/P:MSPIEGEL
S/S-O:JETHYDEN

-----095650 240427Z /14

O 240354Z MAY 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 131790

EXDIS; CAPE TOWN FOR THE EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PORC, SF, WA

SUBJECT:NAMIBIA: ADDITIONAL APPROACH TO SAG

1. DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN CONSIDERING WHAT STEPS, PARTIC-
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 131790

ULARLY WITH SOUTH AFRICA, MIGHT BE TAKEN TO ENHANCE LIKELI-
HOOD OF FAVORABLE OUTCOME OF MEETING OF FRONT-LINE PRESI-
DENTS, WHICH MIGHT TAKE PLACE AS EARLY AS MAY 27-28. WE
BELIEVE IT IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT THAT SIGNIFICANT
PROGRESS BE MADE SOON TOWARD SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF OUR
PROPOSAL. THE FRONT-LINE SUMMIT PROVIDES BEST OPPORTUNITY
FOR SUCH PROGRESS, BUT ONLY IF THE ATMOSPHERE FOLLOWING
THE DETENTIONS OF SWAPO LEADERS AND THE RAID ON CASSINGA
CAN BE IMPROVED. POSITIVE ACTION BY SOUTH AFRICA OFFERS
BEST HOPE FOR SUCH IMPROVEMENT. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE

PARTICULARLY HELPFUL IF WE COULD OBTAIN ASSURANCES ON OUT-
STANDING ISSUES FROM SOUTH AFRICANS WHICH COULD THEN BE
PASSED ON PRIVATELY TO FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS. AMBASSADOR
MCHENRY'S PRESENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA PROVIDES USEFUL OPPOR-
TUNITY FOR SUBSTANTIVE FOLLOW-UP WITH SAG, TAKING INTO
ACCOUNT RESULTS OF MEETING WITH VORSTER NOW SCHEDULED FOR
MAY 25. IN FOLLOW-ON MEETING, MCHENRY COULD JOIN
WITH CAPE TOWN FIVE IN MAKING PRESENTATION OUTLINED BELOW.
IN MAKING THIS PRESENTATION TO SAG, THE CONTACT GROUP
SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT WE ARE NOT ASKING THEM TO MAKE NEW

CONCESSIONS BUT SIMPLY TO TAKE STEPS CONSISTENT WITH THE
PROPOSAL THEY HAVE ACCEPTED IN ORDER TO ASSIST IN REACHING
OUR GOAL OF EARLIEST POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT.

2. CONTACT GROUP MIGHT BEGIN ITS PRESENTATION BY MAKING
THE FOLLOWING GENERAL POINTS:

-- WE WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO SECURE SWAPO'S AGREEMENT
TO OUR PROPOSAL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE;
-- HOWEVER, OUR TASK HAS BEEN MADE FAR MORE DIFFICULT
BY THE CASSINGA RAID AND THE DETENTIONS OF SWAPO OFFI-
CIALS;
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 131790

-- NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT SIGNIF-
ICANT PROGRESS TOWARD SWAPO AGREEMENT MAY BE POSSIBLE
SOON, WITH THE HELP OF THE FRONT-LINE AFRICAN STATES, BUT
ONLY IF SOUTH AFRICA ACTS TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE BY
TAKING STEPS WHICH DEMONSTRATE ITS ACCEPTANCE OF THE
CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL AS THE BASIS FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF
NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE;
-- THE STEPS WHICH WE HAVE IN MIND ARE ENTIRELY
CONSISTENT WITH THE PROPOSAL. THEY CAN GO FAR IN
ACHIEVING OUR GOAL.

3. TURNING TO SPECIFIC POINTS, WE BELIEVE THERE ARE
THREE AREAS IN WHICH CONTACT GROUP SHOULD ATTEMPT TO
OBTAIN HELPFUL CLARIFICATIONS FROM THE SAG, AS FOLLOWS:

A) WALVIS BAY - WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE CONTACT
GROUP IS IN PROCESS OF DEVELOPING POSITION ON WALVIS BAY
WHICH COULD INCLUDE ALTERNATIVE SECURITY COUNCIL RESO-
LUTIONS. THE ALTERNATIVES, AS WE SEE THEM ARE, IN
DESCENDING ORDER OF PREFERENCE, EITHER A RESOLUTION WHICH
THE FIVE COULD SUPPORT, WHICH WOULD BE LESS THAN ENTIRELY
SATISFACTORY FROM THE AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW, OR A RESO-
LUTION ON WHICH THE FIVE WOULD HAVE TO ABSTAIN, WHICH
WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE AFRICANS BUT WOULD RISK A VERY
STRONG SOUTH AFRICAN REACTION. DEPARTMENT BELIEVES
CONTACT GROUP SHOULD EXPLAIN OVERALL SITUATION TO SAG
ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

1) A SEPARATE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY IS AN INEVITABLE COMPANION OF ANY RESOLUTION APPROVING OUR PROPOSAL;

2) ALTHOUGH THE EXACT WORDING OF THIS RESOLUTION IS NOT KNOWN, IT WILL MAKE CLEAR THE VIEW, AT A MINIMUM, THAT WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE PART OF AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA;

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 131790

3) AT THE SAME TIME, WE RECALL YOUR WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE ON THE FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY WITH AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. THIS WILLINGNESS CAN BE USED TO YOUR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE IN GAINING SWAPO AGREEMENT TO THE PROPOSAL;

4) THUS WE URGE THAT YOU ALLOW US NOW TO CONVEY PRIVATELY YOUR WILLINGNESS, AFTER THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS ACTED, TO SAY PUBLICLY THAT YOU WOULD TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION GEOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL AND ETHNIC CONSIDERATIONS WHICH LINK WALVIS BAY WITH NAMIBIA AND STATE YOUR WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIAN STATE ON THIS SUBJECT.

B) DE FACTO CEASEFIRE - CURRENT INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE LEVEL OF MILITARY ACTIVITY ALONG THE NAMIBIA/ ANGOLA FRONTIER HAS DECLINED SUBSTANTIALLY. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE BELIEVE IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN SOUTH AFRICA'S AGREEMENT TO ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE AS FAR AS FURTHER CROSS-BORDER OPERATIONS ARE CONCERNED. SUCH A STEP WOULD BE IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE PRONOUNCEMENTS REGARDING FURTHER RETALIATORY STRIKES WHICH SAG OFFICIALS MADE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CASSINGA RAID AND WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL WITH BOTH FRONT-LINE AND SWAPO. THE FACT THAT SWAPO DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE CARRIED OUT MAJOR OPERATIONS SINCE CASSINGA, COUPLED WITH EXTREMELY NEGATIVE INTERNATIONAL REACTION TO SOUTH AFRICAN AID, MIGHT BE SUFFICIENT TO ENCOURAGE SAG TO TAKE THIS STEP. IN PRESENTING PROPOSAL TO SAG, CONTACT GROUP COULD MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS:

1) AT THIS DELICATE JUNCTURE IN THE NAMIBIA
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 131790

NEGOTIATIONS, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE ARE ABLE TO CONVINCE THE FRONT-LINE STATES AND SWAPO OF YOUR SINCERITY IN ACCEPTING OUR PROPOSAL;

2) THE CASSINGA RAID WAS WIDELY INTERPRETED AS EVIDENCE THAT YOUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL WAS NOT SINCERE;

3) ACCORDING TO OUR INFORMATION, SWAPO HAS NOT STEPPED UP THE LEVEL OF ITS OPERATIONS IN THE BORDER AREAS;

4) WE WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO ADVISE THE FRONT-LINE STATES AND SWAPO PRIVATELY THAT YOU WILL NOT UNDERTAKE FURTHER OPERATIONS AGAINST SWAPO BASES IN ANGOLA, IN THE ABSENCE OF SWAPO PROVOCATION;

5) IF YOU WILL GIVE US THIS UNDERSTANDING, WE WILL UNDERTAKE TO OBTAIN A SIMILAR PRIVATE ASSURANCE FROM SWAPO;

6) THESE RECIPROCAL PRIVATE ASSURANCES WOULD BE IN ANTICIPATION OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL BY ALL INTERESTED PARTIES, WHICH WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY PROMPT UNSC ACTION AND A FORMAL CEASEFIRE.

C) RELEASE OF SWAPO OFFICIALS AND OTHER CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES - IN THIS AREA, WE BELIEVE THAT THE SAG COULD TAKE STEPS WHICH WOULD SERVE TO RESTORE SOME OF THE SENSE OF OPTIMISM REGARDING THE OUTCOME OF OUR INITIATIVE, WHICH WAS SHAKEN BY THE MASS ARRESTS OF SWAPO OFFICIALS UNDER DECREE AG-26 AND SERIOUSLY WEAKENED BY THE CASSINGA RAID. WHILE WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED OUR CONCERN OVER THE ARRESTS TO THE SAG, THE APPARENT LACK OF ACTION SUGGESTS THAT FURTHER EFFORTS ARE NECESSARY. WE ALSO BELIEVE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 131790

THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS THE SAG TO MOVE AHEAD MORE RAPIDLY IN DISMANTLING DISCRIMINATORY LAWS AND REGULATIONS IN NAMIBIA, WHICH COULD ALSO BE PRESENTED TO FRONT-LINE AND SWAPO AS SIGN OF SAG'S GOOD INTENTIONS. FINALLY, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR EFFORTS WITH FRONT-LINE AND SWAPO WOULD BE AIDED BY SAG PUBLIC STATEMENT REAFFIRMING ITS ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL AND ITS INTENTION TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH THE SYG IN IMPLEMENTING THE TERMS OF THE PROPOSAL. THE FOLLOWING POINTS MIGHT BE USED:

1) THE LARGE-SCALE ARRESTS OF SWAPO LEADERS UNDER DECREE AG-26 WHICH COINCIDED WITH YOUR ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL WAS WIDELY USED INTERNATIONALLY TO CAST DOUBT ON YOUR INTENTIONS. TO COUNTER THESE CHARGES, WE URGE THAT THESE SWAPO OFFICIALS BE RELEASED AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL REFRAIN FROM ANY FURTHER USE OF HIS POWERS UNDER THAT DECREE ON SUCH A SCALE;

2) WE ALSO URGE THAT THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL
MOVE MORE EXPEDITIOUSLY TO ELIMINATE THE REMAINING
DISCRIMINATORY LAWS AND REGULATIONS IN NAMIBIA. A

PUBLIC STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT BY THE ADMINISTRATOR
GENERAL WOULD BE MOST USEFUL TO US IN OUR EFFORTS TO
OBTAIN SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL;

3) IN VIEW OF THE WIDESPREAD DOUBT REGARDING
YOUR INTENTIONS, WE BELIEVE THAT YOUR POSITION WOULD
BE STRENGTHENED IF YOU WERE TO ISSUE A STATEMENT
REAFFIRMING YOUR ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL. TO BE
EFFECTIVE, HOWEVER, THIS STATEMENT WOULD HAVE TO AVOID
ANY REFERENCES TO TIME DEADLINES FOR THE FINAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 131790

ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL BY ALL PARTIES AND SECURITY
COUNCIL ACTION. IT WOULD ALSO BE MOST HELPFUL IF
SUCH A STATEMENT COULD INCLUDE A SPECIFIC UNDERTAKING
TO COOPERATE WITH THE SYG IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
THE PROPOSAL.

3. FOR USUN: YOU SHOULD REQUEST URGENT CONTACT GROUP
CONSIDERATION OF THE ABOVE APPROACH, POINTING OUT THAT
MCHENRY'S PRESENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA OFFERS EXCELLENT
OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE FURTHER DEMARCHE ON SAG AND THAT
COINCIDENCE OF PROPOSED FRONT-LINE SUMMIT MAKES IT
EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO OBTAIN POSITIVE STATEMENTS FROM
SAG WHICH CAN BE USED WITH THE AFRICANS.

4. FOR BONN, LONDON, PARIS, OTTAWA: YOU SHOULD PASS
ON THE ABOVE TO THE APPROPRIATE FOREIGN OFFICE
OFFICIALS AND URGE THAT POSITIVE INSTRUCTIONS BE SENT
TO THEIR UN MISSIONS SO THAT AGREEMENT ON THIS
APPROACH CAN BE REACHED RAPIDLY.

5. FOR CAPE TOWN AND AMB. MCHENRY: WE WOULD
APPRECIATE YOUR URGENT COMMENTS ON ABOVE PROPOSAL.

CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NEGOTIATIONS, POLICIES, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 may 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE131790
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO/UNP:TNILES
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780218-0317
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197805112/baaaeysl.tel
Line Count: 263
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 187b3895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2540467
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> mcm 970819
Subject: ADDITIONAL APPROACH TO SAG
TAGS: PDEV, SF, US, WA, PDEV, PORG
To: BONN OTTAWA MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/187b3895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014